Volume LXXXIV CHICAGO, January 29, 1920 Number 22

UNITY

FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor 1880-1918

Amendments to the Constitution of the United States

Article I: Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of the speech or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

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Article XIV: All persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and the states wherein they reside. No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any state deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

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PUBLISHED WEEKLY

UNITY

$2.00 PER ANNUM

ESTABLISHED 1878

With THE FREE RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA, THE CONGRESS OF RELIGIONS, and all other organizations and individuals seeking to widen fellowship and to realize the Brotherhood of the Spirit unrimmed by creed, form or sectarian prejudices.

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Vol. 1. March 1, 1878. No. 1.

THE

Pamphlet Mission

FOR

FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP & CHARACTER

IN

RELIGION.

Publishing Committee:

Robert Collyer, Chicago. Wm. C. Gannett, St. Paul.
Jenkin Ll. Jones, Janesville. C. W. Wendte, Cincinnati.
J. C. Learned, St. Louis.

PUBLISHED SEMI-MONTHLY AT 65 WASHINGTON ST., CHICAGO.
Per Year, $1.50. Single Number, 10 Cents.

Francis L. Robbins, 65 Washington St., Chicago, - Business Agent.
J. T. Sunderland, 65 Washington St., Chicago, } Editors of
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UNITY PUBLISHING CO., Abraham Lincoln Centre, 700 Oakwood Boulevard, CHICAGO, ILL.
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UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

Vol. LXXXIV THURSDAY, JANUARY 29, 1920 Number 22

THE LAMP BEARER.

Through mists and fogs of earthly woe,
Through midnights chill and damp,
Through spirit tempests lowering
He bears a gleaming lamp.

When darkness holds the sun in bonds
He hails the reddening morn,
When war and hatred rend the earth
He greets a world reborn.

When kings and lords and captains rage,
When greed and lust are strong,
He lifts his voice athwart the din
And sings his loving song.

The kings and lords and captains proud
Shall perish in a night;
The fragile lamp the Poet bears
Shall never lose its light.

Thomas Curtis Clark.

Owing to the greatly increased expense of printing and paper, we have found it necessary to increase the subscription price of UNITY from Two Dollars to Three Dollars per year, beginning with the new volume, March 1, 1920. We do this with great reluctance; and in order to afford our subscribers the opportunity of taking UNITY at the old price, we will accept subscriptions at the usual rate, whether new or renewals, until March first. We hope our readers will avail themselves of the chance to renew their subscriptions, to order gift subscriptions, and to induce their friends to subscribe between now and the beginning of the new rate. This month may well be used as a subscription campaign. There are doubtless thousands of people who would enjoy UNITY if they knew of its existence and the position it takes on the issues of the day. We shall be glad to send sample copies to all whose names may be sent us as likely to be interested.

E. Ll. J.

"Off with his head!"—Such is the ever-recurring cry of the Queen of Hearts, in *Alice in Wonderland.* Does anybody make a mistake in her presence, or express an opinion not in accord with her own? Instantly comes the shrill command, "Off with his head," and one more unfortunate is added to the list of victims of royal madness. One thinks inevitably of this delicious satire of Lewis Carroll, as one contemplates the present situation here in America. The Queen of Hearts is everywhere, from the office of Attorney-General Palmer to that of the humblest constable in some rural village. Government, goaded by the insanities of current public opinion, seems to have lost all dignity, all self-control, all sense of decency, all respect for law, and is apparently able to do nothing but shriek, "Off with his head." Only here and there is an official who is anything better than a Lewis Carroll "comic." One such is Circuit Judge Anderson, of Boston, who declares that history has seen nothing like the present mania since the witchcraft delusion. Ninety per cent of the conspiracy charges of the day, says this Judge, are as baseless and therefore silly, as the pro-German tales that flourished during the War. How soon Americans will recover their reason, is doubtful. But if this happy recovery is long delayed, the characteristic question just asked by George Bernard Shaw, will become most pertinent, "When is the Statue of Liberty coming down?"

It is evident that what was said in these columns some weeks ago about the deportations on the Buford, was none too strong. No less a man than Secretary of Labor Wilson now states, in a letter addressed to Hector M. Holmes, of Boston, that "most of these deportees are guiltless of any offense against our laws, or abuse of our national hospitality, but are innocent victims of disease or poverty." "These men," continues the Secretary, "are deserving of special sympathy." And yet they have been described by most of our newspapers, and are regarded by the great majority of our citizens, as criminals, vile monsters in human form; and anybody who has dared to speak a word in their behalf, has instantly been showered with abuse. Fortunately there are signs that the government is beginning to recover some sense of justice in this matter of deportations. Not only has the letter, quoted above, been written, but aliens now held at Ellis Island are being freely released on bail, and it is intimated that the Buford was not only the first but will be the last Soviet "ark." Nothing can ever wipe out the stain of this one expedition, but it is something if this is repented of, and repetition made impossible.

Some weeks ago we gave it as our opinion in these columns, that a great change was impending in the Allied policy toward Soviet Russia. That prophecy is now confirmed by the official announcement that the blockade is to be lifted, and trade relations resumed with the Russian people. This is the best news that has been given to the world since the tale of Armistice day. It marks the final defeat of the hideous endeavor to crush the Russian Revolution, and *per contra* the triumph of the one definite achievement for democracy

that came out of the Great War. There is careful protestation, to be sure, that trading in Russia is to be done with the Co-operatives and not with the Bolsheviki; and much assurance that this announcement means no change of attitude toward Lenine and Trotsky. But all this, of course, is only what the Chinese have learned to call "saving one's face." The lifting of the blockade means inevitably the recognition of the Moscow government and the formal admission of the Soviets into the family of nations. This is the best news, as we have said, since the armistice. The only pity is that it has come not through the recognition by the Allies of the atrocious iniquity of their policy of wrecking the Revolution by the deliberate starvation of the people, but as a result of their defeat by the arms of the Bolshevists. Had Yudenitch, Kolchak and Denikine been successful in their campaigns, the English and French would have supported them to the bitter end. As it was, these imperialist tools were overthrown—and the Allies now yield not to mercy but to necessity. And as a part of this necessity, is not to be forgotten the work of the radicals on "the home front." The Allies might even now be continuing the blockade, for all its ill-success, were it not for the determined opposition of the Socialists in Italy, the Labor Party in England, and scattered groups of liberal opinion in America. Let one more victory be scored for democracy! Amid the darkness of the times, here at last is one broad, bright ray of light!

Speaking of Russia and the Bolsheviks brings to mind a curious page in the memoirs of Gen. Ludendorff, recently published. In speaking of the famous Brest-Litovsk conference, the German leader states that Trotsky acted exactly as though he were a pro-Ally agent! This fits in poorly with the information given to us for months past, by every official channel of information, that Trotsky was pro-German, and sold out the Allied cause at Brest-Litovsk for German gold! To the Germans, apparently, the Bolshevik appeared to be an agent of the Allies; and to the Allies, an agent of the Germans. Which means that Trotsky was always what he said he was, a representative of free Russia, concerned with nothing but the salvation of his people! That the Bolshevists should refuse to aid either side of the great struggle in the west, was of course taken by each party as *prima facie* evidence that they were in alliance with the other. It was inconceivable, amid the excitements and terrors of the time, that the true servant of human freedom might find it necessary to stand outside of the struggle altogether. But now, with the war some fifteen months behind us, it should be possible to estimate the honest motives which dictated Bolshevist policy in 1918. As a matter of fact, we know today, on the assurance of Raymond Robins and many others, that Lenine and Trotsky were entirely ready to maintain the alliance with the Allies, if the Allies would give guarantee of democratic war aims, and recognition of the Soviet government. But the Allies, fearing Lenine more than they feared the Kaiser, refused both; and the treaty of Brest-Litovsk was the result. The miserable lie that Lenine and Trotsky were German agents, should now be laid peacefully to rest, like the similar lies of the nationalization of women and the assaults upon religion. Ludendorff's amusing testimony that he regarded the Bolshevists at Brest-Litovsk as pro-Ally, should be the last nail necessary to seal that coffin.

It is interesting to read the Tory papers these days, and see how they are willing to make havoc not only of present liberties, but of ancient memories and traditions as well. There was a time when Americans gloried in the deeds of the Abolitionists, and cited their illustrious names in testimony of America's devotion to humanity. But we can do this no longer! "Wendell Phillips," says a recent editorial in the New York *Times*, "the urbane and violent patrician, and William Lloyd Garrison were disunionists, disorganizers, disrupters of the State. They have no authority in history." If this is true, then of course Theodore Parker must be similarly described. Charles Sumner, another Abolitionist, was also a traitor; we now know that Preston Brooks was right when he assaulted such an enemy of the public welfare, and all but caned him to death. Indeed, this rewriting of history, in the interest of present-day reaction, is full of surprising possibilities. It may mean that we shall discover the hideous fact that the fathers of 1776 were revolutionists, who took up arms to overthrow a government. It is high time that we learned the facts about American history, and exposed some of these disreputable heroes for what they really were. It's bad enough having Bolsheviks about us today, without finding them scattered all through the story of the American nation!

It is a joy to see the way in which the church has rallied to the support of the five Socialist assemblymen, threatened with expulsion by Speaker Sweet and his henchmen at Albany. On Sunday, January 18th, Dr. Felix Adler, at the Ethical Culture Society Meeting House, spoke on "The Dangers of the Headlong Attack on the Radicals"; Rabbi Wise thundered in the Free Synagogue Pulpit on "Is Freedom Free in America"; and Mr. Holmes, at the Community Church, addressed his audience on "Repression the Road to Revolution." The same night, more than one church forum was thrown open to indignant protests against the outrage. The week previous saw the publication of a letter of protest to the New York assemblymen, signed by such eminent clergymen as Dean Robbins of the Cathedral of St. John the Divine, Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick, Dr. Henry Sloane Coffin,

Rev. Henry E. Cobb, and Dr. Charles H. Slattery. There are several ministers of the rabid 100 per cent American type who have not yet been heard from, and they are undoubtedly rejoicing over this last and crowning act of tyranny. But this very scheme, in the case of men usually so stridently vocal in behalf of persecution, is itself compelling evidence of the real conscience of the church. In this case, if in few others, the church has been "not unfaithful to the heavenly vision."

The fate of Reginald de Koven, so suddenly dead, was a happy one. To have written one operetta, "Robin Hood," fresh and beautiful in every note, destined to give joy to thousands of eager listeners in the future as in the past, is perhaps achievement enough for one man. Other operettas, of higher standard than any others of our time, save only the immortal works of Gilbert and Sullivan, flowed rapidly from de Koven's facile pen, and nearly all were successful; but none ever attained the popularity of "Robin Hood." The production by the inimitable Bostonians in their palmy days, with such singers as Barnaby, Frothingham, Cowles, Neilson, Davis, Macdonald, in the cast, was of course part of the secret; but the operetta itself was "the thing," after all. Along more ambitious lines, de Koven wrote two grand operas—"The Canterbury Pilgrims," produced at the Metropolitan Opera House in 1917, and "Rip Van Winkle," just produced this season in Chicago. The former was a respectable failure; the fate of the latter has yet to be determined. Reginald de Koven was by no means the greatest of American composers; but he was easily first in his own chosen field of operetta. His is a happy memory.

Nonconformity and Deportation

The need of a penal colony has been a matter which has often given great concern to governments which have found the severe criticism of implacable opponents disturbing and difficult to answer. In ancient days governments had no such difficulties to contend with, and the question of finding a penal settlement for humble agitators disturbed them very little. It was a simple thing in Greece when "wealth was the only guarantee of liberty and the source of political power," to find hard work for the discontented to perform regularly. An estimate of the population of Athens at the time of Pericles shows that about seventy-five per cent of the people were slaves. The famous silver mines of Laurion, which became the chief source of Athenian revenue, were something of a penal settlement, for into these mines the government drafted Greek and foreigner who had no political standing. So it was in Rome, the great slave market of the world; according to Pliny, any part of the empire beyond the Tiber, even for a Roman citizen, could be used as a penal colony. Rome itself, supported by alien labor, was a penal settlement; only about one-third of the population being freemen. The extent of that imperial penal settlement may be imagined when we consider the estimate of Gibbon who was inclined to believe that, during the reign of Claudius, it contained sixty millon slaves.

It was not until the time of the Stuarts that a government found it expedient to populate a foreign land with its folk. Under the infamous Vagrancy Act of Elizabeth, powers were given to justices to banish offenders, and the privy council decided to which land beyond the seas they should be conveyed; but full effect was not given to this statute until the next reign, James I. He was the king who, at a conference of prelates and Puritan divines, at Hampton Court, broke it up with the threat: "I will make them conform or I will harry them out of the land." And James harried the Puritans out of the land. From the shores of England, in the century which followed, numbers of "arks," crowded with people who would not conform, sailed away to a New World—America, there to give freedom to the nonconformist spirit of England. Leaving tyranny and persecution, all the base practices of an autocracy, behind them, they were however careful to carry with them to the new land of liberty the fair tradition of Saxon law and custom as it had come to them, over eleven centuries before, from the mother land in Europe. The harrying process of James and his successors was successful in depopulating England of much of its best blood and brain. There was, nevertheless, another side to the harrying process, a very dark side, seldom referred to by our historians, because, perhaps, it revived a system—slavery—which had long been out of vogue in England.

In a letter of James I, dated 1619, he directs "a hundred dissolute persons" to be sent to Virginia. By that time the term, "slavery," was supplanted by the more polite one, "banishment." But "banishment" was liked no better than "slavery," and in the time of Charles II, another term had to be found. In a statute of the merry monarch's reign, which had for its purpose the removal of persons to a penal settlement outside their own country, we find the term, "transportation," used for the first time. The difficulty of finding the proper term for the system of punishment was, no doubt, great, because no mere term could possibly take the stigma of slave from the condemned. When under an act of 1617 the system of transportation was developed in a thoroughly practical manner, by handing over to contractors those offenders who escaped the death penalty, the American colonies were used by the British government as a penal settlement. After the passing of the act of 1617, the traffic in transported people was carried on with great vigor, and, so profitable did the business become, an organized

system of kidnapping prevailed along the British coasts, where young people were seized and sold into the slave gangs of the American plantations. The revolt of the American colonies put an end to that dreadful system.

The government of Great Britain was at a loss, after the American revolution, to know what to do with the great bulk of its offenders. The supply was just as great, but the demand was cut off by the loss of the penal settlement. The position was becoming dangerous, when the discoveries of Captain Cook in the South Seas brought to the notice of the government new fields for development. Then began a system of transportation which for iniquity and horror surpassed anything that the French practiced in Guiana and New Caledonia. Though the industrial conditions were entirely different in Australia, where there were no landlords and capitalists to receive and set to work the transported men and women, the conditions of an entirely new country were so unfruitful that rations had to be sent from home, and famine very often, when the ships were late, stared the wretched colonists in the face. Work there was to be done by the men, but it was done for the government, and under government control. The history of this terrible experiment is for anyone to read who will take the trouble to look into the House of Commons' reports which deal with the matter. Perhaps an easier and more satisfactory method of becoming familiar with the transportation system is to read Marcus Clarke's great novel, "For the Term of His Natural Life"; a work constructed from the official documents relating to the conditions of life in the Australian settlements. There is besides another work which deals with another aspect of the question of transportation; it is "The Village Labourer," by J. L. and Barbara Hammond; one of the vital books of this generation, one our legislators and justices can ill-afford to ignore. The Hammonds in dealing with the last revolt of the English laborers rely entirely upon the official documents for their facts, and describe with deep sympathy the conditions in Britain when men and boys were transported to Australia and Van Diemen's Land, for more or less serious offenses. Many of the legislators and justices of that time were, however, devoid of human feeling and reason. The Hammonds say:

> "In spite of the daily imposition of ferocious punishments on poachers and thieves, the poor apparently did not know in what letters of blood the code against rioting and discontent was composed. These three weeks brought a lurid enlightenment into their dark homes. In the riots, as we have seen, the only man who had been killed was a rioter, killed according to the reports of the time by a yeomanry soldier, according to local tradition by a farmer, and for that offence he had been refused Christian burial. On the other side, not a single person had been killed or seriously wounded. For these riots, apart from the cases of arson, for which six men or boys were hung, aristocratic justice exacted three lives, and the transportation of four hundred and fifty-seven men and boys, in addition to the imprisonment of about four hundred at home. The shadow of this vengeance darkens the minds of old men and women in the villages of Wiltshire, and eighty years have been too short to blot out its train of desolating memories."

The agent provocateur was then the main stay of the ruling powers; their position was somewhat hopeless without his service. But the agent provocateur of that day had quite as difficult a task in manufacturing evidence against his victims as in a later time, though he had no difficulty with the judges, for they were connected socially, if not by blood, with the aristocracy, which was, to all intents and purposes, the legislature of Great Britain. The great feature of the uprising was rick and barn burning. Terror had been caused among farmers and landlords by threatening letters signed, mysteriously, "Swing." After a thorough examination of the documents and records, the Hammonds say:

> "Yet not a single case of arson was tried before the Special Commissions, and the labourers kept their secret well. Many of the governing class in the early days persuaded themselves that the labourers had no secret to keep, and that the fires were due to any one except the labourers, and to any cause except distress. Perhaps the wish was father to the thought, for as the *Times* observed, persons responsible for grinding the faces of their labourers preferred to think the outrages the work of strangers. Sometimes it was smugglers, suffering from the depression in their trade: sometimes it was foreigners; sometimes it was mysterious gentlemen in gigs, driving furiously about the country, led by Captain Swing, scattering fireballs and devastation. These were the fashionable theories in the House of Lords, although Richmond reminded his brother peers that there had been a flood of petitions representing the sufferings of the labourers from the very beginning of the year, and that the House of Lords had not thought it necessary to give them the slightest attention. Lord Camden ascribed the outrages to the French spirit, and argued that the country was enjoying 'what was undeniably a genial autumn.' The Duke of Wellington took the same view, denying that the troubles were due to distress: the most influential cause of disturbances was the example, 'and I will unhesitatingly say the bad and the mischievous example, afforded by the neighbouring States.' Eldon remarked that many of the prisoners taken in the riots were foreigners,

a point on which Melbourne undeceived him. The speakers who regarded the disturbances in the south of England as the overflow of the Paris Revolution had no positive evidence to produce, but they had a piece of negative evidence which they thought conclusive. For if the labourers knew who were the incendiaries, they would surely have given information. In some cases a reward of £1000 with a free pardon for all except the actual author was waiting to be claimed, 'and yet not one of the miserable beings have availed themselves of the prospect of becoming rich.'"

It is not so strange, after all, that the ruling powers of that day should wish to recognize anything but the glaring facts of the case. The truth had to be kept from them at all costs, for the truth of the causes of the uprising was far worse to bear than the damage that was caused by arson committed by persons unknown. Anyway, law and order were maintained and privilege preserved from the enmity and malice of the discontented.

The term "transportation" had a long life, but the system came to an end about the middle of the last century. History repeated itself, for just as the American revolution put an end to the business of transporting white men and boys to Virginia, so did the protests of the people of Australasian lands put an end to the abominable traffic which had been inflicted upon them by the home government. After the publication of Marcus Clarke's startling novel the term "transportation" fell into disuse, and there were many humane folk of sanguine temperament who really imagined that governments would not have to trouble themselves in future about finding euphonious terms for degrading systems of punishment. Scarcely a generation passed, however, before a government in Britain found it necessary in the Aliens Act of 1905 to revive an ancient form of dealing with "undesirables and awkward customers" under a new term. Banishment would not do; transportation was out of the question; so the government adopted another term,—"deportation."

FRANCIS NEILSON.

WHISPERED THROUGH THE DARKNESS.

If knowledge was a thing that men could find
  Like grass on hills, or sand beside the sea,
They might perhaps then pause to make the mind
  The all-consuming force it ought to be.
'Tis easier to dawdle, drift and dream
  Than delve and dream and having dreamt, to "drive."
'Tis simpler to support some long dead scheme
  Than something new and throbbingly alive.

The way seems long, the byways rough and drear—
  Yet flames the dream,—a lamp eternally.
Each virgin dawning blushes red to hear
  The love-lilt of the glorious yet-to-be:
Yours is the power to mould a destiny;
  God made the universe, you make the man.
Creation thrilling with expectancy
  Whispers to crushed and crippled souls—"You can!"

JAMES J. DONNELLY.

CONTRIBUTED

The Eternal Scapegoat

There is an ancient story which tells of a gladiator fight at Rome. During the heat of the battle a monk named Telemachus leaped down into the arena and strove to part the fighting gladiators. A howl of wrath and fury came from the multitude intent upon the struggle and Telemachus was quickly done to death by the enraged populace. Eighteen centuries have passed since then and the names of the nobles who watched that gladiator fight have all been forgotten, but the name of Telemachus, the martyr who so nobly sacrificed his life, is remembered today.

There were men in all lands during this last war who strove to stop the useless slaughter or at least refused to participate in it. Thousands of these men in Britain and America paid the penalty, not indeed in the manner of Telemachus but sometimes by a fate almost as bad. The American people today, a year after fighting has ceased, still insist that its conscientious objectors should languish in gaol. The persecution of these men still goes on, even though the world is made "safe for democracy" and Germany lies prostrate.

"War is Hell," said General Sherman and out of war come greed and hate and murder and lies. We have all these results around us in great profusion today. Those who profit by society as it exists today are even now looking around for more scapegoats to add to the long list of those who have gone before and about whom they can weave the same tissue of falsehood and calumny that has always been the lot of those ahead of their time.

Even as we write a ship is sailing towards Russia bearing a band of men and women whom America has judged unfit to live on her shores. They are stigmatized as "Reds" and "Bolshevists," although there is no evidence to prove that many of them have any other wish for society than to see all men free and happy. Not long ago a disciple of Ferrer, that most gentle and Christlike of teachers, was deported as a "Red" and a "Bolshevist."

This treatment of our advanced thinkers is similar in all stages of history. Socrates drinking the hemlock, Jesus on the Cross, and thousands of less well known men have paid for the advancement of the race in tears and blood. In a very real sense these scapegoats of humanity have "borne our griefs and carried our sorrows."

But they have done it gladly, willingly, in the deep certainty that the message they had to give was well worth the price and that there was no other way for the world to get it. They have suffered without bitterness, forgiving the ignorance that persecuted.

The world needs such men today, men who are lovers of the race, believers in the essential goodness of mankind; men who must often feel lonely and misunderstood, but who always, even at the moment of greatest suffering, realize their essential kinship with their oppressors. They must understand too that just as it is necessary for the few to be ahead of the race and beckon it on so must the many uphold society and conditions as they are.

With hate around us on every side it is very necessary that no feeling of hatred or bitterness should warp our message and distort our views. In this after-

math of war, especially, when millions of men and women are still feverish with its virus, it behoves us to keep our own heads and not let the same spirit take possession of us.

Let us also beware of being nothing but dreamers. Idealists we must be but always let us remember the fallible people with whom we have to deal and how slow is their natural rate of progress towards the Promised Land.

We must have great patience with those who "having eyes, see not, and having ears, hear not, and having hearts, cannot understand." Maybe we shall see the edifice which we gave our lives to build crumble to our feet through the unforeseen weakness of some of the material; then will come the test of our faith if we can "stoop and build it up again with worn-out tools."

How often shall we see the glorious truths which we have preached taken up by evil men and twisted and distorted until we cannot recognize them! It is the test of our claim to be leaders if we can march on in the face of such difficulties and remain unspotted and undismayed. Thank God there is a continuity of Good in the world. The tyrant never could get everyone into the fire: there was always someone left to carry on the good work, some brave soul who could not be cajoled or beaten into submission. No sooner had the martyr fires died down than those remaining took up the banner.

We're the sons of sires who baffled
Crowned and mitred tyranny.
They defied the fire and scaffold
For their birthright. So will we.

England. HARRY TAYLOR.

SELECTED
Facts and Figures

[The following statement comes to us from the C. O. Information Bureau, 5 York Building, Adelphi, W. C. 2, England. It is interesting as an exact statement of the situation. —THE EDITORS.]

A Short Statistical Record of the Conscientious Objector Fight

Number of men who resisted the military service acts	6,312
Number of men courtmartialed	5,790
Of these 4,240 were courtmartialed once.	
Of these 655 were courtmartialed twice.	
Of these 521 were courtmartialed three times.	
Of these 321 were courtmartialed four times.	
Of these 50 were courtmartialed five times.	
Of these 3 were courtmartialed six times.	
5,790	
Number of Absolutists who served two years or more in prison	843
Number of Absolutists released under commutation of sentences scheme	221
Number of Absolutists released from prison on medical grounds	332
Number of men who accepted work under the Home Office committee	3,612
Number of men who died after arrest (10 actually in prison)	69
Number of men who became mentally affected after arrest	39
Number of men who accepted combatant or noncombatant service	349
Number of men rejected or discharged on medical grounds in addition to Absolutists quoted above	268

A Vision of the Church Universal

My grandson led me to the door of the great cathedral. It was like the vast and beautiful churches of the Middle Ages, light soaring, and ornamented with statue and grotesque, yet all apparently of modern design. I paused to admire.

"It is widely praised, though some think it rather too imitative," said my grandson.

"Only a Catholic would have worshipped in a church such as this, in my day," I said. "And yet you say it is not Roman?"

"Roman and Protestant too, a cathedral for Buddhist and Mohammedan. The Church Universal knows no limitation of sect or creed. Here all men who love their fellows may meet together and with a sense of comradeship offer thanksgiving for the benefits and obligation all feel. Here they may voice the aspirations common to all good men regardless of race and color. This is the great and universal church. Let us enter and you will see."

The usher met us, and because I was old led us far to the front where I might see and hear. Those nearby smiled and nodded to me but did not speak. The vast, expectant congregation was hushed, and in the silence I felt a sense of elation, the joy that comes from being one of many, the individual consciousness submerged in a mighty and purposed whole. So tense was the spell that I could scarcely look around me. Yet I saw that the aerie heights of the cathedral were radiant with sunlight broken to a thousand tints as it streamed through a miracle of stained glass. Below, the light was chastened and blended, falling softly on the upturned, silent faces.

Then the tones of some invisible orchestra of a hundred muted strings stole into the vast reaches of the church. Old memories stirred as I sought to recall that celestial music. A boy's voice thrilled forth in an "Ave Maria" of Palestrina and I remembered from many years before a visit to a Catholic cathedral and the inspiration of that music which had strangely stirred a somewhat bigoted Protestant, one a little afraid of all poetic ritual and music too sacredly beautiful.

The boy ceased and there was a moment's pause. Then at a reading-desk to the front of the cathedral appeared the priest, who read in a beautiful and sonorous voice this invocation:

"Ye who with reverent hearts are gathered together in all humility and thankfulness of spirit, men and women of divers creeds and races, toilers by land and mariners of air and sea, makers and refiners, what seek ye together?"

To this the congregation answered in unison:

"Many are we, seeking after God in many ways, each, in his various fashion, by land, by air, and by sea, striving to do with honor that of the world's toil which has been granted him. Our creeds are several; the ways of our fathers, the good of which it is our desire to foster and to increase, are yet more various. Yet great as are the differences which divide us, still greater are the bonds which unite us in the fellowship of worship. We acknowledge our common brotherhood. We meet together as the sons of one Father, as stewards in the heritage of the fair earth, which it is ours to enjoy equally and preserve unimpaired to the delight of our children."

Priest: "Man, the sovereign of earthly creatures,

has cause for rejoicing in the means of happiness which are his."

All: "He has pleasure in the simple things of life, in his senses which bring to him each day new and wonderful revelation of inanimate and living things in the world about him, and in the perception of beauty, and in the speculative mind which finds in all things food for pleasurable thought."

Priest: "We are thankful for the simple human relationships of which our life is made up."

All: "For our fathers and our mothers who brought us into being; for the companionable state of matrimony; for the great blessedness of children; and for the brotherly association of neighbor and fellow worker."

Priest: "Yet with joys and pleasurable relationships are involved duties and obligations! These it is our privilege to acknowledge."

All: "The productiveness of the earth and the beauty of all natural objects we will strive to preserve and to increase. The waste and barren places of the earth we will make habitable. The grandeur of forest and mountain, ravaged and impaired by the thoughtlessness of men, it shall be ours to restore, that the children of men may not be strangers to the loveliness of the world about them. And in all our labors and enterprises it shall be our endeavor not to create ugliness, which is abhorrent, but ever to make that which is necessary, beautiful, both in itself and in the making."

Priest: "Nor are we forgetful of the unfortunate among us, who, by reason of poverty, disease, and sin, are unable to enjoy fully the blessings of this life."

All: "Men and women, doing each one the best that is in him to further the welfare of all by the creation of things beautiful and useful, should be granted the means of life according to their need; and leisure for the pursuit of knowledge, and for the expression of self after whatsoever fashion is pleasant to them.

"It is our shame that all are not yet free to do so. Therefore, through love and self-denial we will strive unceasingly to cast out and destroy both poverty and sin. May our hearts be strengthened in this resolve through the inspiration of this gathering of a thousand souls bent to the selfsame end."

Priest: "There is no perfect happiness possible to a man if his brother want or be in sin."

All: "To some it is therefore permitted to taste the blessedness of toil in the hard places of the earth for the good of their fellows. To these, fortunate in their strength, comes happiness, because the joy of all men is made thereby more possible of attainment. Grant that each one of us may grow in strength to take upon himself some part of the world's pain to the end that such pain may cease to be."

Priest: "Yet we would not destroy all pain whereby the soul of man is stirred and becomes strong."

All: "Pain of the spirit which dwells in a man like a fire, may cleanse him of evil. All needless and fruitless pain, pain of the body, the pain of hate, of evil, of all sin and unwholesomeness let it be our task to wash from human existence. In so doing we may be made more sensitive to the pangs of the spirit which are the inevitable birth-pangs of a nobler life. These we would not evade, for through them lies the path to ever-increasing joy and beauty."

Priest: "Let each of us declare the faith that is in him, that it may grow strong and guide him in his daily acts."

All: "I believe that what I aspire to be I may, by striving, ever more nearly approach. Therefore I set before myself the highest ideal of which I can conceive.

"I believe that no one can find happiness in himself alone, but only in the welfare and happiness of others. Therefore I wish to do in this life whatever may be of most service to my fellow men.

"I believe that men may make this earth a home worthy of an ideal brotherhood. I am glad that I have a place therein; nor do I believe my place so insignificant that I may conduct myself other than in the best fashion of which I am capable.

"I believe that cheerfulness and kindliness are the greatest of all virtues, for in these I touch most closely the lives of those about me. Therefore I will comport myself so that I may bring joy to my neighbor, who is every man, of whatsoever race and creed.

"And I believe that it lies with me, as one among men, to do my part in the advance toward that goal, ever receding and ever unattained, which makes life upon this earth an heroic thing. To the infinite progress that is to be I wish to contribute my share, cheered by the conviction that those about me are of like mind and purpose."

There ensued a silence eloquent of the unspoken prayer of each of that vast assemblage. How long it lasted I do not know. Then the invisible orchestra played again, and when it had ceased the congregation poured quietly from the arched doorways. My grandson and I stood again in the sunlight.

I said, "Of this I had dreamed but never thought to see my dream realized."

"Every man dreamed the same dream," said my grandson, "and thus it became a reality."

—*Carl H. Grabo, The Amateur Philosopher.*

Chap., "Religion and Religious Institutions," pp. 219-223. *Scribner's,* 1917.

IN THE COOL OF THE EVENING.

In the cool of the evening, when the low sweet whispers waken,
When the labourers turn them homeward, and the weary have their will,
When the censers of the roses o'er the forest-aisles are shaken,
Is it but the wind that cometh o'er the far green hill?

For they say 'tis but the sunset winds that wander through the heather,
Rustle all the meadow-grass and bend the dewy fern;
They say 'tis but the winds that bow the reeds in prayer together,
And fill the shaken pools with fire along the shadowy burn.

In the beauty of the twilight, in the Garden that He loveth,
They have veiled His lovely vesture with the darkness of a name!
Thro' His Garden, thro' His Garden, it is but the wind that moveth,
No more; but O, the miracle, the miracle is the same!

In the cool of the evening, when the sky is an old story
Slowly dying, but remembered, ay, and loved with passion still,
Hush! . . . the fringes of His garment, in the fading golden glory,
Softly rustling as He cometh o'er the far green hill.

—*Alfred Noyes.*

The Woman Soul

There is a growing belief that the moral future lies in the lap of woman. The belief is declared by great teachers in the West and also in the East. Benjamin Kidd in England and Tagore in India prophesy simultaneously that the hand which has rocked the cradle will steady a world which is rocking itself to destruction. It is a fact worth thinking about that two very influential religious movements have the names of women at their head. There is Mrs. Eddy, the founder of Christian Science, and Mrs. Besant, the leader of monern Theosophy. If only we could have witnessed a personal meeting of these two authoritative women and listened to a discussion of rival claims and philosophies!

Lofty assertions are now being made on behalf of the spiritual genius of woman. St. Paul must be wanting to write some further epistles. A new flattery of women is finding voice. It says in effect: Of course you women are much better than we men are. We have made a bad job of the world. Will you try your hands and make a good one? And we will be grateful to sit down in it when we come home from the old business. Thoughtful women do not care for this kind of false praise from a man or from one of their own sex. The possible service of women is not to be discovered by a contrast with the failures of men. There can be no advance by women without an equal response from men. And when one speaks of Woman, it must be remembered that the special insight and spiritual qualities we denote as feminine are no monopoly of women.

So far as the manifest character of women is concerned, there is no more promise than is to be seen in men. Almost all women have something of the cat in them. Almost all men have something of the wolf. We can call it a draw. Women can easily beat men in a game of spite. Men can beat women in a game of brutality. Perhaps the last word on the respective merits in personal character of men and women was uttered by Mrs. Poyser: "I don't deny that women are foolish. God Almighty made 'em to match the men." The old notion of women as weak and faltering creatures, needing strong men to protect them, is only true so far as women are threatened by the brutalities of possessive greed.

Men equally deserve protection against the petty malice in which women generally excel, but the attack is not so obvious. What is popularly recognized as "cattishness" is not checked by any traditional chivalry. There is a tradition of chivalry belonging to men. It is a sentimentality which adorns a stupid emergency. But on the question of the protective function of men it is well to ask the opinion of a woman who is left alone to battle with the world as it is. The castle of modern chivalry is a shelter for one woman, but there is always another woman outside the gate.

Now, there is one significant fact which gives the clue to the hope that women will prove the saviours of civilization. Love is the greatest thing in the world, in spite of all the silliness talked about in churches or music halls. And joy in its higher degrees is only held by the sacrifice of lower material interests. Women, beneath superficial contradictions, have always stood a little nearer to this truth than men. In given circumstances women show a fortitude, an unyielding persistence, a hardihood excelling the valor of any man. Once armed to fight for her own, a woman will defy all the powers of earth and hell; and, although usually very careful of conventions, will break them like paper bands.

If, therefore, the secret of the future happiness of the world is in the creative co-operative spirit, as against the possessive competitive spirit, women will show a clearer recollection of the path which leads to that spirit. For within the circle of intimate relationship women have dwelt nearer the creative heart of life, and know that joy, even in pain, has its measure "not by the wine drunk, but the wine poured forth." Women have long been the vestal guardians of the fire sacred to the god of home. A purpose has been born in that limitation which women have endured. The purpose is that love, which has hitherto been solely domestic, may be recognized as the guiding principle of all human relations and social organization. The people who absurdly begged women to remain on their domestic thrones were, for all their absurdity, influenced by a dull perception of one starry truth.

The truth is that if women, as they share the world outside the home, forget the secret word which has been their key to happiness, the world will have lost its great chance. We shall be carried into no clearer light by women achieving equality with men in the world's transactions, if at the same time women lower their spiritual standards to those which have hitherto prevailed outside family and intimate relationships. There is now a crying need for loyalty to new ethical standards in industrial and political relationships and in the conduct of the common affairs of mankind. Women have the wisdom which values real things only for their contribution to human love and joy.

Women know that joy is born of the union of self-pleasing and service to others. If they keep this magic jewel, their influence will be decisive in transforming the social world from its present ugliness, confusion and misery to beauty, order and abundant life. The truest and best tribute to women has been paid by W. B. Yeats: "The woman does not believe in pleasures; she believes in happiness. A supreme belief in happiness is the woman's soul. It awakens in her the moment she is in love, or has a child, and accompanies her everywhere. It explains, I think, the curious self-centredness of her mind, and the strange aloofness which seems to envelop her who has husband and children."

Owing to the war and famine, the number of women in Europe will be for a generation very much above the number of men. What will this mean for many women except frustration and bitterness and decline, unless they find an absorbing spiritual mission to take the place of marriage? Is it fancy that already one can detect in many women's eyes a certain pathetic expectancy? Let all women, who have homes or only lonely hearths, believe that they carry very near their hearts the day soon to be born. And from their lips will come the Magnificat of the constructive social revolution.

Vivian T. Pomeroy.

The New Commonwealth.

EXPERIENCES IN RUSSIA

IX.
The Bolshevik Judicial System

Echoes of the French Revolution

Charges against the Bolshevik system of justice (or injustice) has been so pronounced that I found it impossible to believe that any real judicial system could exist. And, once there in Russia, I made a determined effort to discover the facts—whether there were any system, the form in which it had crystallized and the extent to which it functioned. The Extraordinary Commission, of which so much has been heard, excited my curiosity greatly.

In my long sitting with Kamenev, the president of the Moscow Soviet, I had discussed the Bolshevik judicial system. He talked freely concerning it, and gave me a detailed description. Indeed, he talked so fully that at the end he turned and asked why I had questioned him on the subject, since it was not in his department. I explained that I had come to him with this object among others, and that I was grateful for his visit and lucid explanation. I was more grateful later on, for, going to see the Commissary for Justice, Kurski, I had in my mind and in my notes the Kamenev conversation to act as a control on what I then learned. The two explanations coincided, with the difference that the head of the Department of Justice was naturally able to supply details which Kamenev did not possess.

Hegel's cynical remark that the only thing we learn from history is that people do not learn from history is not quite true here. The Bolsheviks have a system of courts, and that system is founded on what they learned of the practices and necessities of the French Revolution. They have two tribunals: one a People's Court, for ordinary civil and criminal cases, the other the Revolutionary Tribunal with special functions. Of these, only the People's Court is intended to be permanent. There is a temporary third court, the Extraordinary Commission, charged with the conduct of cases of counter revolution, of peculation, sabotage and misuse of power by officials; but in effect its main task has been the cases of counter revolution.

Material and formal jurisdiction in Bolshevist Russia is best explained by throwing it into two periods, the first during the months of November and December, 1917, when the people's judges only received general directions, according to which judgments were to be given. And during that period the fundamental State laws published were the decree that all power in the Russian Republic belongs to the Soviets; another decree abolished all former courts; another fixed the working day at eight hours, and another related to marriage and divorce.

The second period began in 1918 with the detailed regulation of all laws, e. g., a code of laws relating to family relationship; a code of labor laws; a code of laws concerning the people's courts. There is nothing haphazard about the drawing up of these codes. Some of them I have gone through and found to be extremely precise, minutely elaborated documents. The labor code, e. g., had been drafted first by the professional alliances (trade unions), then discussed by the Commissariat of Justice and the Convention of the Soviets, before being adopted. It had first appeared in the regulations of tariffs—i. e., rates of pay—regulations which represent an immense labor in classifying and grading occupations and providing for appropriate rates of pay, a practice which knocks on the head the idea of the Soviet Republic as a place where all are on one level, receiving one and the same remuneration. Indeed, it is far otherwise, and the minute graduation of these tariffs is one of the sources of labor troubles; they are too fixed, and so allow no margin for the vaguer cases where one grade shades off into another. There would seem to have been necessity for the code of regulations concerning people's courts, seeing that some 4,000 of them function in Soviet Russia; each district has from three to five of them. In Moscow alone there are 50 or 52 people's courts, which in 1918 dealt with some 98,000 criminal cases and with a further list of 40,000 civil cases. The maximum penalty which they can inflict is three years' imprisonment.

Their revolutionary tribunals seem to have gone through two similar stages, gradually becoming competent and acting under specified conditions. But at first the parallelism which existed between the two kinds of courts led to overlapping of function, especially in the provinces. When the Commissariat of Justice undertook by regulation to define the competency of these revolutionary tribunals it limited them to the fight with counter revolution. But in the confusion which existed and the misunderstanding of their competency they did not deal with the counter revolution. It was this failure which led to the extension of the powers and of the field of the Extraordinary Commission.

This Extraordinary Commission, about which and its head so much has been written and said, began to function at once after the revolution of October-November, 1917. It was not till later that the regulation was passed which gave to the revolutionary tribunals alone the right of passing capital sentences. It was impossible at first to regulate this Commission, and excesses took place; many death sentences were passed by its Presidium. It was the desire to stop these which led to the passing of the regulations limiting and defining the powers of the courts, and it is particularly stated in the Code of February, 1919, that the Extraordinary Commission has no right of passing death sentences except in the case of the taking of armed bandits *in flagrante delicto,* or in cases where there is an uprising in places where the Commission is working. It is easily conceivable that in the political condition of the country even this regulation opens the door to abuses, and in the hands of unscrupulous men could be turned into an engine of revolutionary tyranny and destruction.

In 1918 there were 32 revolutionary tribunals at work. They dealt with cases of counter revolution, sabotage, espionage, peculation, pogroms, bribery and forgery, and illegal use of Soviet documents, in number more than twelve thousand. In 50 per cent of the cases a verdict was reached. Fourteen per cent of the verdicts were death sentences; the rest were dismissals.

Their last codes, those on the land laws and on inheritance, which has been practically abolished, they consider themselves to be their most important legal move.

On the merits or demerits of the Bolshevik judicial system I offer no opinion. My information was not procured soley from the two men mentioned. I talked on the subject with many people who were quite unsuspicious of my motive, and I looked into their codes and their court records, which can be procured easily in Russia. I only show that they have a system which has been the work of legal minds, for there are jurists as well as professional men of all kinds among the leaders. Its chief quality would seem to be a certain simplicity. By a stroke of irony the people's courts aim not only at punishment of evil but also at reformation of the wrongdoer! A first offender is set free on condition that he must not fall again. Should he do so, he pays the penalty of his second offense together with that to which his first crime rendered him liable.

As for the two temporary tribunals, they are justified on the ground of necessity. They say that as they, the Bolsheviks, were working for the materialization of their ideals, they had to have in their hands a machine for counteracting their enemies. Hence, on the French model, the revolutionary tribunals; hence the Extraordinary Commission. That explains, but does not condone, the excesses to which the formation of these courts led. That there were excesses is proved by the care with which the Bolsheviks have tried since to regulate the powers and control the functions of these courts. For the final assessment of responsibility in the matter the world must wait for the future historian of the Russian Revolution who shall have the full evidence in his hands.

—*W. T. Goode.*

Manchester Guardian.

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XV.

The Maha-bharata

I deem it not direr than any crime,
If one, in coming forth from woe to weal,
Abandon any meanest comrade then.
—*The Great Journey.*

The East India Company in the early days of its trading in Bombay and Calcutta, before the days of Sir William Jones, used to pack its teas and spices in old paper, common rubbish as they deemed it. But on this paper were Sanskrit characters, their import then unknown to the English traders, but afterwards found to contain portions of the great Indian epic of the Maha-bharata.

This poem, unlike the Ramayana, is a secretion, a snowball that has rolled down the centuries, growing as it rolled, taking to itself precious folklore and the contributions of genius. We have in the Maha-bharata a conglomerate. A conglomerate to the geologist is an aggregation of rocks and stones gathered by the forces that accumulate, the floods disintegrating and again cementing into solid masses. Such is the Maha-bharata in literature.

Monier Williams has outlined eighteen different sections and given extracts in literal form. In the World's Best Literature samples in prose rendering may be found. A little volume of nineteen "National Epics," compiled by Kate Milner Rabb, contains portions of both the Ramayana and Maha-bharata. Portions have also been translated by the gifted Hindu, Romesh C. Dutt.

But the work that will give literary joy is Edward Arnold's "Indian Idylls." He has given us eight delightful stories, each one of them charming reading though perhaps translated a little too much as a poet to be entirely trusted. It is interesting to note the tribute paid his father by Julian Arnold, who is not only a sympathetic interpreter of his father's writings, but an independent interpreter of Hindu thought. He says:

> Many men have written great books about the East, learned tomes of philosophy of which the world knows nothing; they are on the shelves of libraries. But the man possessed of the essential gifts: first, the divine gift of sympathy, perfect sympathy for people; then superb English, the power of expressing himself simply, together with the luck to begin his active life in India and absorb it into his being, was able to take his message as a westerner, a speaker in English, and bring it back into the western world. Edwin Arnold had the great privilege of really introducing Asia to the world. He has done it in "The Light of Asia," "The Pearls of Faith" and "Indian Idylls." There is no dust on these books, simply because they lie open to us with the word sympathy written upon them.

Concerning the Maha-bharata Mr. Arnold says, it is not a book but a range of thought, that as all epics do takes us to a high mental altitude; it is the aggregation of the thought of one of the most spiritual races in the world, the Aryan. It is not a book to the Hindu, it is the newspaper, the Bible, the dictionary, encyclopedia, story, it stands for life.

Before the day of written history the middle of Asia, now the Gobi desert, was a very pleasant country, having hills and valleys and small lakes. But the relentless sand buried all this until now it is death to travel across the desert. Then came migrations of Aryans, in waves in two directions, one wave journeying to the east, towards Persia, and the other towards the Indus. Those journeying southward were the fathers of India.

The great barrier of northern India, the Himalaya mountains, had to be crossed, over which there were but four passes, two of them being passable during but one or two months of the year. We may imagine these people traveling in groups, the strong young men walking, clothed in skins, the old men riding dromedaries and donkeys, and the women, children and the sick in carts. They would settle, plant fields, grow corn, and in the evening light a fire around which they would gather, which means story telling. An old man would stand up and tell a story of some hero of his race, or of one of the great moral teachers of his race, expressed in a beautiful story. If he should use a word not in the accepted version of that story someone in the audience would correct him. Due to this fact these stories have come down to us through hundreds of years, letter perfect.

Among the tribes entering the Punjab about 800 B. C. there was a chieftain called Bharata, so powerful and so great that even today in India the natives

do not call the land India but "the land of Bharata." Alexander the Great is responsible for the word India.

Bharata had a son called Kura, who had two sons, one Dhritarashtra, who was blind, and the other Pandu. Pandu had five sons and Dhritarashtra one hundred, the number of course metaphorical. The noble family is that of the Pandavas; the suspected, wicked and unwholesome family the Kauravas. At the death of Pandu Dhritarashtra took over the government but made Yudhisthira heir apparent. Soon the sons of Pandu, the chief of whom were Yudhisthira, Bhima and Arjuna, were compelled by the hatred of their cousins to flee the kingdom. But they made their way to the king of Panchala, whose beautiful daughter Draupadi was won by Arjuna by a feat of arms. The contending brothers were very mad at this and tried to take her by force, but Arjuna, assisted by his brothers, succeeded in carrying off the Princess to his mother. The boys said to her, "We have something you will like." Not knowing what it was, she said, "Divide it among you," and finding it to be the bride was in a great predicament. The Divinities were consulted and it was found that this bride had prayed to five different gods for a husband and this was the answer to her prayer. The connection between heaven and earth, between the human and the divine, is just as short in this Hindu lore as it is in the Greek.

During the wanderings of the brothers there occurs the incident of "The Enchanted Lake." They are lost and become very thirsty. From a tree verdure and a lake are seen. One brother is sent to bring back water. The youth being thirsty, and the sight of the lake ravishing, he hastened to slake his thirst, when a voice said, "Not until you have answered my questions." He drank and fell dead. A second, a third and fourth brother had the same experience. At last the cool-headed Yudhisthira went and answered the conundrums, propounded after the manner of the Sphinx. One of the many questions was:

Yaksha—
What thing in the world weigheth more than the world
What thing goeth higher than white clouds are curled?
What thing fleeth quicker than winds o'er the main?
And what groweth quicker than grass on the plain?
King—
A mother's heart outweighs the earth;
A father's fondness goeth forth
Beyond the sky; thought can outpass
The winds; and woes grow more than grass.

The question as to whether a Brahmana is made so by birth or the attainment is conditioned on reading the Vedas, or on conduct, brings forth the answer:

O Yaksha, listen to the truth:
Not if a man do dwell from youth
Beneath a Brahman's roof, nor when
The Srutis known to holy men
Are learned, and read the Vedas through,
Doth this make any Brahman true.
Conduct alone that name can give;
A Brahmana must steadfast live,
Devoid of sin, and free from wrong;
For he who walks low paths along,
Still keeping to the way, shall come
Sooner and safer to his home
Than the proud wanderer on the hill;
And reading, learning, praying, still
Are outward deeds which ofttimes leave
Barren of fruit minds that believe.
Who practices what good he knows,
Himself a Brahmana he shows.

Yudhisthira finally becomes undisputed king and reigned five hundred years or so. However his life was full of tragedy and he determined to abdicate all earthly pomps and make a pilgrimage to Indra's heaven in the heights of Mount Meru. "The Journey to Heaven" Mr. Arnold calls "the greatest passage in the Maha-bharata. It is stored with a depth of thought beyond all praise, and has in it the exquisite simplicity of the Master."

The King, his four brothers, Draupadi the Bright, and the faithful dog, set out on foot and "Rejoiced because their way lay heavenward." In sight of heaven Draupadi reeled and fell. Bhima asks, "Why hath she failed," "For never all her life wrought our sweet lady one thing wrong."

Yea, one thing.
She loves our brothers better than all else,—
Better than heaven: that was her tender sin,
Fault of a faultless soul; she pays for that.

One after another they fall by the way. Of the first brother it was said, "Wisdom made him proud." "Self-love slays" Nakula. Of Arjuna, "Once he lied, a lordly lie!" Of Bhima, the last to fall, the king says:

More than was well the goodly things of earth
Pleased thee, my pleasant brother! Light the offence,
And large thy spirit; but the o'erfed soul
Plumed itself over others. Pritha's son,
For this thou failest, who so near didst gain.

Alone the king proceeds, followed only by the hound. Promised all blessings in heaven he asks:

Still one more grace! This hound hath ate with me,
Followed me, loved me; must I leave him now?

He pleaded long, ending with the words of our text, when the hound vanished and "The Lord of Death and Justice, Dharma's self," appears. But in heaven Yudhisthira could not be happy where his loved ones were not, "Where they have gone, there will I surely go."

In the story "The Entry into Heaven" the king has his wish and makes a journey through hell. Through his insistence a celestial company follows him and "Hell's shades melted before them." He is summoned to peace well earned.

Sweet is peace after pain,
And bitter pain which follows peace: yet they
Who sorely sin taste of the heaven they miss,
And they that suffer quit their debt at last.

Here we have only a suggestion of the charm of these Idylls. The early stories were told by crude but deeply spiritual people. When the Brahmas, the priests, grew to power, they argued that the stories had sunk deep into the hearts of the people, they must not be allowed to interfere with Brahminical mystical lore. They varied the version to suit themselves and added pieces of philosophy and fragments of stories. Wishing to insert a passage concerning the meaning of life and death a place was found for it in the conversation between Arjuna and his charioteer, the disguised Krishna. This is one of the loveliest things ever written, the Bhagavad-Gita, our next study.

QUESTIONS.

(1) To what one man are we primarily indebted for our knowledge of the Indian Epics?
(2) Name three writers who have tried to make them popular.
(3) Give the meaning of the word Maha-Bharata.
(4) How long is the Maha-Bharata?
(5) Tell how this epic took form.

NEWS FROM EUROPE

Disaster to an American Expedition:

A cablegram from the Belgian Congo (says the Exchange Telegraph Company) states that Dr. Joseph Armstrong, the medical director, and William Stowell, the kinematograph director of an American expedition sent out by the Smithsonian Institute and an American film concern, were killed in a railroad wreck in the Engo Forest. Several others were injured, and remained in the forest without medical aid for several hours. Several natives were killed.

The expedition was undertaken with the object of making films of the Congo and obtaining scientific information for the Smithsonian Institute.

A French Military Hegemony:

An editorial in the London *Daily Herald* remarks:

The conference between Mr. Lloyd George and M. Clemenceau is variously represented as having settled everything and having settled nothing. The interesting thing to democrats is that it would have settled nothing even if it had settled everything. No secret colloquy, no getting together of discredited politicians left over from the dark ages of secret diplomacy, can really, finally and effectively, settle anything. It can but prolong the agony of the old world. It cannot give birth to the new. Only the peoples can do that, and they are ignored. Neither President Wilson nor Mr. Lloyd George has any policy at all. Hence the superior strength of M. Clemenceau, who has. *He* never believed in any League of Nations. *He* has always gone straight for one goal—the establishment of a French military hegemony over Europe. The German claim to this was what a million of our men died to prevent. The French claim to it is apparently smiled upon—in secret—by Mr. Lloyd George.

The impudence of the claim is staggering. France is in a very bad way economically. It is dependent on Great Britain and America. Yet it presumes to bully Great Britain and America. Well, in the long run, the plots for any form of military hegemony will fail. But they may do a lot of harm by the way. And here we get the old issue as clear as possible—the old secret diplomacy, the old military ambitions, the old refusal to treat with Socialist Russia: all the old bullying and intriguing business, designed to prevent the march of the peoples and the brotherhood of man.

The ex-Kaiser's Trial:

The law officers of the Crown in Britain seem to be at work gathering evidence of the ex-Kaiser's guilt. Speaking at Pontypridd in Wales, Sir Gordon Hewart, the Attorney-General referred

To the proposed trial of the ex-Kaiser, and said it was untrue to suggest that there were any dissensions on the one hand or waverings on the other with reference to this vitally important matter.

The law officers of the Crown, he said, had already made, and were still making, most careful and extensive preparations for the arrival of the day when the trial would begin. Already there had been examined more than 50,000 written statements with reference to the matter of prosecuting criminals for acts done in the course of war. His audience could infer from that fact the magnitude of the task, and should not be led away by suggestions that the matter was not receiving the closest attention.

The Right to Make War:

According to a proposal before the Conference of the League of Nations Association, which gathered recently in Brussels,

These various bodies will henceforth be grouped into one organization in order to work together. A central secretariat will be established at Brussels.

Amongst the resolutions adopted by the Conference was one regarding compulsory arbitration. According to the terms of this the States which are members of the League would undertake to submit to juridical arbitration any problems which they had not been able to solve, and failing agreement the final decision of the Council of the League would be sought.

The Conference decided that the permanent commission should prepare a draft of a convention of justice between the nations, together with a draft code of international law, which should be submitted to the Governments of the States associated. This code is totally to eliminate from its text the right to go to war.

The Conference adopted motions providing for equal treatment of nations in territories formerly under German domination, aiming at the amelioration of relations between employers and employed, and calling upon the League of Nations to summon and admit as soon as possible any State desirous of membership and able to give the necessary guarantees.

The Troubles in Egypt:

In an editorial the *Manchester Guardian* deals with the discontent and revolts in Egypt. It says:

Lord Curzon's statement in the House of Lords of the policy of the Government towards Egypt comes none too soon. Grave errors of policy and administration have been made in Egypt during the years of war, and we are now reaping the fruits of them in widespread discontent and popular violence. In large part no doubt this movement is due to other and more widespread causes. Egypt no more than other countries has been unmoved by the upheavals of the war, by the overthrow of long-established and seemingly impregnable strongholds of power, the downfall of rulers, the uprising of peoples, the proclamation by a thousand voices of popular rights and liberties. All this Egyptians have seen going on round them, while to them for long no word was said. The suzerainty of Turkey disappeared in the war. The protectorate of this country took its place. But nothing was said at the time or for long after to show what this protectorate implied, or how far it was compatible with the maintenance and development of Egyptian liberties. Egyptians might be excused indeed, if, judging us by our acts, they regarded protectorate as only another word for annexation thinly disguised. No appeal was made to Egyptian loyalty, the offer of Egyptian troops to fight, like those of India, side by side with our own men in France was, possibly for good reason, declined; yet at the same time, and with singular inconsistency, a million Egyptian laborers were recruited, by methods not always too clearly distinguishable from compulsion, to serve behind the lines against the Turks in Palestine. India was represented at the Peace Conference; small peoples never recognized before were represented; Syria was represented; the Arabs of the Hedjaz were represented; Egypt was not represented. What wonder if our policy and intentions were misunderstood?

Questioned regarding the speed of reconstruction in Russia once the war was over, M. Litvinoff said: I think that if the war ceases, and if Russia is helped by the Allies with machinery, etc., and if she is permitted to get oil from Baku, reconstruction would be very rapid. I think that in the course of next summer Russia would not only be able to provide for her own needs, but to export grain to other countries.

"How long can you hold out if the war and the blockade continue?"

"We can hold out as long as the war and the blockade continue. That is certain. The war is not weakening but strengthening the Government."

The Debasement of the Currency:

The editor of *Common Sense,* in a trenchant leader, deals with the British Prime Minister's finance:

The trouble with Mr. Lloyd George seems to be that he has no firm grip of political economy, and therefore no clear understanding of the precipice towards which extravagant expenditure—military, naval and civil—supported by borrowing on an enormous scale, is hastening our country. Perhaps he thinks, perhaps he knows, that only a minority is really fully aware of the peril, and that only a minority of that minority really cares. But, as a matter of fact, the whole country, and especially the people with small incomes, are very much alive to the rise in prices caused by the depreciation of the inconvertible paper currency. This debasement of the currency is the work of Mr. Lloyd George's administration, and it goes hand in hand with the inflation of credit caused by Government borrowing. This Government borrowing (at the rate of, say, ten millions a week), is the inevitable consequence of the enormous sums which are being wasted at home and abroad, principally, of course, upon militarism and aggressive imperialism. The fool hath his eyes on the ends of the earth, and when folly like this takes possession of a Government, at the end of a great war, the unfortunate people at home as well as abroad, who are its victims, have to smart for it.

H. S. N.

THE FIELD

The World is my country, to do good is my Religion"

ATASCADERO, CALIFORNIA.

The readers of UNITY who were familiar for many years with the initials "M. E. H." at the close of the "Notes from the Field" will regret to learn that Mary E. Hawley, who was for a number of years librarian at the John Crerar Library, came to her death by an accident on the highway at Atascadero where she went to live last October, upon her retirement from public life. After visiting friends and relatives on the way, she arrived at Eureka on October 22, just too late to see her dear and only brother who had been released on that very day after prolonged suffering. Her last letter speaks of the many miles she "walked by sunlight and moonlight on the open road and it almost seemed as if Brother must take shape beside me for we have tramped these hills and dales together quite a bit, but he paces with me silently, and that is much." Pacing this very road, release came to her and on January first even the slight veil of flesh ceased to divide her from the one she loved.

Miss Hawley was a valued friend of the late Senior Editor of UNITY, a woman of rare culture, a devoted friend of all high causes. Earth is the poorer, but the unseen world the richer since her loyal and gentle spirit has found refuge there.

E. LL. J.

IN DEFENSE OF THE CONSTITUTION.

A remarkable meeting was held in the Y. M. C. A. Auditorium in Chicago on January 23rd in protest against the frequent infringement and overturn of American institutions, traditions and constitutional guarantees now being attempted by public officials, both state and national, in the so-called "red raids," the deportation of aliens, unlawful searches and seizures, unseating of the duly elected representatives of the people, the abrogation of the age-long American tradition of the right of asylum, and other arbitrary and un-American acts.

Despite a heavy storm which interfered with traffic, a large audience gathered over which Miss Jane Addams presided. Vigorous and forceful speeches were made by Hon. Edward E. Dunne, former governor of Illinois, Attorney Frank McCullough, and Professor Freund of the University of Chicago Law School, discussing the legal and constitutonal aspects of these acts.

Miss Mary McDowell of the University of Chicago Settlement deplored the hatred and distrust of America which such persecutions are creating in the minds of the foreign population who are her neighbors, whose husbands, fathers, sons and friends, many of them returned soldiers who fought to preserve American democracy, many holders of Liberty bonds, are seized and thrust into jail without the slightest notion of the reasons therefor.

Professor Samuel Dickey spoke of the religious aspect of the question, recalling the fact that this nation was founded to secure religious freedom, and that soon after liberty of political thought and expression was also established. The two are therefore very closely intertwined so that if we allow our political rights to be taken from us, we are very apt soon to find our religious freedom abridged as well.

Miss Grace Abbott of the Juvenile Protective Association called attention to some of the revolutions or fundamental changes in government that have already occurred in America including

(1) the securing of suffrage for women which was a basic change in the fundamental conception of government in America, affecting the root of all government, the ballot, and condemned by its opponents as certain to disrupt that most sacred of all institutions, the family;

(2) the passage of the prohibition amendment which again involved the changing of supposedly final ideas about the right of private property and about personal liberty.

These revolutions, she pointed out, had been peaceful and bloodless because freedom of discussion and the inalienable right of the minority to create a majority by means of discussion and education and agitation had not been interfered with. They were made by the ballot in the regular way. (Yet now five duly elected representatives of a political party, pledged to make further changes by the same methods, are denied the right to sit in the legislature to which they were elected and a former justice of the Supreme Court and Republican candidate for President who seeks to represent the public which elected them is informed by the Judiciary committee of that Legislature that he has no standing before it.) Future changes in governmental forms will surely come to pass. Whether they will come with bloodshed or peacefully depends upon whether or not they are met with force and unlawful and unconstitutional restrictions of fundamental civil rights.

A summary was given of the various bills now before Congress which seek further to take from the American people their hard-won civil rights and to make permanent and more drastic the provisions of the war-time Espionage Acts. Three such measures are now before Congress, as follows:

(1) The Sterling Bill in the Senate and the House Bill which corresponds to it under the name of the Nelson Bill, have been passed and are now in Conference. They provide that any person advocating the overthrow of the government or a change in the government or the repeal of any law or a change in the Constitution, by force or violence, or who displays any emblem or who publishes any statement or who uses the mails for such a purpose shall be subject to a fine of $5000 or less or imprisonment for five years or both.

The McKellar amendment to this bill provides for the deportation to the Island of Guam of any person who advocates a political or economic change by force or violence or by any act of "hate or prejudice."

(2) The Graham Bill provides a death penalty for these Acts. It also, says Mr. Charles T. Hallinan of Washington, "makes permanent Mr. Burleson's control of the press and his right to open sealed letters sent from or addressed to any suspect. It prohibits political strikes. No magazine or newspaper could publish the views of a conscientious objector. It expressly prohibits circulation of books or newspapers "containing an appeal to racial prejudice the probable result of which appeal is to cause rioting or violence"—aimed at Negro papers like *The Crisis* (of which W. E. B. DuBois is the distinguished editor) but easily applicable to Irish papers. The present Espionage act is nothing compared to this bill. Lawyers assert that those caught in sedition can be convicted under the act of March 4, 1909, aimed at 'any one who incites, sets on foot, assists or engages in any rebellion or insurrection against the authority of the U. S. or the laws thereof'; hence no further legislation is needed."

These measures apply not only to aliens and naturalized citizens but to native born Americans as well, even of Puritan and Revolutionary (1776) ancestry. So loose and capable of any desired interpretation is the wording of these measures that any individual expressing any opinion in favor of any change in the government or the laws or against any existing act may find himself thrust into jail.

The daily press has been very silent regarding these measures. It is the duty of every liberty-loving patriotic American to wire or write his Senators and Congressmen at once protesting against the passage of these un-American measures. Secure also copies of the bills and study them in full.

SUSAN QUACKENBUSH.

An All-Chicago mass meeting will be held to protest against these acts at the Coliseum on Sunday evening, February 8, at 8 o'clock. The meeting will be addressed by all shades of conservatives, liberals, radicals and labor men, including Rabbi Judah L. Magnes and Professor Scott Nearing of New York, Pres. Maurer of the Penn. Federation of Labor, Miss Jane Addams and other well known Chicago speakers. Admission, 25 cents.

SUSAN QUACKENBUSH.

ANNOUNCEMENT.

We wish to call attention to the announcement on the following page of the Recital and Program to be given by Miss Jennie F. W. Johnson at Kimball Hall, Tuesday evening, February 16th.

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